

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED

Air Pouch

2003

HUL-A- 383

~~SECRET/RYBAT/PBSUCCESS~~

31 March 1954

[]
LINCOLN

KUGOWN

Material for Francis R. HEGARTY

1. Attached are English language instructions and Spanish language materials for transmittal to Francis R. HEGARTY. Contrary to previous instructions, HEGARTY is to return only the English language instructions. His friends may retain the Spanish language materials.

2. Please note the following:

a. The El Rebelde material referred to in paragraph 7 of the English language instructions is not included in this pouch. Instead, it will be forwarded in next week's pouch.

b. There is not a copy of the distribution guidance (referred to in paragraphs 9a and 16 of the English language instructions) for Station files, *nor of the Cruz and Gutzog philosophy.*

3. Also note that the paragraph numbers stapled to each attachment are keyed to the respective paragraphs in the English language instructions.

4. It is requested that you familiarize yourself with the attached materials.

JCD/JTN/eaf
31 March 1954

JEROME C. DUNBAR

Distribution

2 - []
✓ 2 - Washington
3 - LINCOLN

~~SECRET/RYBAT/PBSUCCESS~~

March 30, 1954

FOR: RODOLFO COLON

1. The most urgent item attached is a draft of a new statement or manifesto to be made by Pancho. In view of the success of his previous manifesto, and in view of considerable evidence that his friends in the country are somewhat discouraged by the present arrests, we believe it important that Pancho should speak. The attached draft is for his guidance and general orientation, and can of course be changed by him to suit his style and his own feelings. What you must point out to him, and what we believe to be extremely important, is to avoid any premature incitement of the people and any illusion that the people will be called upon to take action in the very near future. The statement must balance between confidence and patience. We also believe it useful for Pancho to take this opportunity to hit hard the themes that his movement will be neither "invasion" nor "intervention." This statement should go in this week's issue of CEUAGE and El Combate and should be given radio play and distribution to the newspapers in all the Central American countries, including Mexico. Please provide us soonest with copies, either type-written or printed, of the manifesto so that we can assist in its circulation.

2. Next in order of importance is the document attached and entitled "Gross and Quetzal." Juan Jose has already discussed the general theme of this paper with Pancho. The paper represents a proposed political philosophy for the movement. It is actually self-explanatory, so that you should not have to do any selling of it or explaining of it. We realize that it was impossible to have you in on the initial discussions of this paper, and we therefore do not expect you to explain it in detail to Pancho. If he should ask you embarrassing questions on one or the other point, you might say to him that we specifically wish to get his unbiased and unadulterated reaction, just as a reader of the document, who had no one by his side to explain it to him, might react. Inform Pancho that this paper is also being discussed with [redacted] We need Pancho's comments by the next mail if they are extensive, or by telegram if they are brief. A telegraphic summary of his views is necessary in any case. Inform Pancho that, if he and [redacted] agree on this paper and on whatever modifications they wish to make, we will have it printed on onion-skin paper in ample quantity. We will ship to him by about 15 April ample copies for distribution inside the target and outside. At the same time, we will see to it that his friends inside get sufficient copies for their distribution.

3. The item third in order of importance for you to discuss is the document called "Realities of Gross and Quetzal." This document represents a draft of the practical political program of the movement. Whereas we would like to circulate the political philosophy document after 15 April, we wish to have this document circulated after 1 May. Thereafter, all the media and radios could explain various parts and aspects of both documents. Tell Pancho that we want his changes and suggestions on the "Realities" paper and are also getting those of [redacted] Once a final paper is evolved, we will print it in the same manner as we plan to print the political philosophy document.

4. Inform Pancho that these two papers, one largely ideological and the other largely propagandistic in nature, do not, of course, replace concrete political planning for executive decrees and legislation to be implemented after success. Ask him to forward as rapidly as possible the work ~~that~~ is being done by his lawyers and tell him that we will shortly submit to him, after consultation with [] a number of practical proposals.

5. We are sending you several articles on the theme of article 32 of the Constitution and its violation by the Communists. We believe that these articles could be placed in CEUAGE and El Combate. We attach considerable importance at the present time to the "32" campaign and we request that you secure publication of these articles in furtherance of the campaign.

6. We attach also articles on the subjects and themes which were communicated to you last week for the military paper. For your information we have seen only the first copy of the military publication (the two-page insert) and are well satisfied. Please inform all hands that the idea of the gradual transition is eminently acceptable and that we consider it very sound.

7. We are sending you also copies of a number of articles previously supplied to the paper inside the country and not used there because of printing difficulties, etc. We believe these articles to have usefulness for both CEUAGE and FAGE. *Will be forwarded in next week's letter.*

8. You will note that we are addressing to you material for both publications. The arrangement for a contact, locally, to El Combate has not been finalized and we request that you service both publications. The letter of accreditation which you were requested to obtain last week for the group contact to El Combate should be held by you pending advice from us. We trust that the requested twice-a-month contact between you and FAGE is now in operation and we trust that in the intervening weeks you can arrange through Pancho's couriers to have the articles destined for El Combate transmitted from your place to that paper.

9. We are also sending you the following items:

a. A translation of an excellent study in the methods of clandestine distribution. Please pass to your friends and request that they institute the methods recommended. *

b. Audibility reports that you requested for the radio stations.

10. We still need very badly your report on the efficacy of the distribution system of both your publications.

11. We need urgently your report on the financial estimate that will be required for April. You are aware of the discretion that you will have to employ in order to secure the needed data.

12. Please report on progress you have made on the matter of the balloons and white flags. Please report also what use was made of the material about Rogelio Cruz Wer.

*The attachment to this translation contains comments submitted by personnel now working with us from the country. Their opinions, based on previous experience in the country, should be of value.

13. We are also sending you an article exploiting the letter of George Meany, President of the AFL, to Arbenz, and a copy of the letter. This should be published in El Combate.

14. It has been noted that an excess number of newspapers, CEUAGE and Combate, is being sent to Manuel and that they are accumulating at his site. Please, gently, put an end to this and tell your friends to send only enough copies of each paper so that each trainee down there can have one copy. The boys are too busy to undertake mass distribution.

15. In addition, Manuel's boys have apparently been asked to place articles from CEUAGE and El Combate in the local press down there. Please stop this also. You are henceforth responsible for sending five copies each of the papers through the group down to that area, where the group representative will be responsible for putting extracts in the local newspapers. Inform your boys of this arrangement and also inform them that the group in that country will take care of all the propaganda expenses.

16. Apropos of paragraph 9, a., we are sending you two copies of the distribution guidances, one to be used locally and the other to be ~~xxx~~ given to the El Combate personnel for their work. This is in line with your responsibility for the material and the distribution of both publications.

17. Attached, finally, you will find a note on "Problema Salama." The note comes from your friends' opposite numbers inside. Be sure to hit this problem with all your media, press, radio, leaflets. We have to make heroes of the Salama men. Assure your friends that the Group has ordered all aid to be given to the families of the prisoners.

18. Please give us by next week a full report on comments on the attached Spanish language materials. As stated previously, we absolutely must have by next week Pancho's comments on the political philosophy and on the political program. We would also like to have a copy of Pancho's new manifesto—inform him, by the way, that we will now be sending such a draft to him either every two weeks, or as things develop, weekly.

19. Just as we are closing this letter, we have received your letter of 16 March about the meetings of 13 and 15 March. The plans for "La Voz del Ejercito" appear excellent. We note that you say "all material sent by you will be used"—please be advised that we have no pride of authorship and that we want your friends to use only that material that appears appropriate and useful in their situation and that we conceive our material as a possibly useful springboard for their own ideas rather than something that has to be accepted lock, stock and barrel.

20. The analysis of the local political situation is interesting and cogent. With reference to your request for the "go-ahead" signal on the "carambola" action on the local political scene, you are probably aware that a Group representative has made excellent arrangements in your area and that therefore such action is no longer as urgent as it was before. In view of that fact, which you are at liberty to explain discreetly to your friends, we ask you to withhold action on this sector. Inform your friends, if they should be a little disappointed, that it is always essential to have an alternate plan and that the previously contemplated propaganda action will be initiated if, as is unlikely, the present arrangements seem in any way endangered. Advise them that as long as arrangements are satisfactory, we do not wish to take any chances of jeopardizing local relations by such propaganda action.